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XXXIII

THE TALENSE

History; Tribal, Clan, and Soog' *Organization*

INTRODUCTORY: The Talense occupy the area shown on the map. According to the 1921 census report they number 29,972 persons of both sexes. Specimens of the language, called Talene or Talen', have been given in Chapter III. Their appearance, their houses, customs, religion, and organization all seem to me to be very similar to those of their neighbours, the Nankanse. Their languages, too, are very much alike. Had the Talense not been labelled with a separate appellation, I doubt if the anthropologist—save after, perhaps, a very minute investigation—would have considered it necessary to deal with them as a group distinct from the Namnam and the Nankanse. Nevertheless, in accordance with the plan which I mapped out, I have done so. Rites and customs, already investigated, discussed, and described, are here approached from a different angle. Results so obtained are always valuable, even where there is a certain inevitable repetition. The process serves also to fill gaps in the work which has gone before, to which the information obtained later may be considered as supplementary.

In dealing with this and the remainder of the tribes, I have endeavoured to group my facts, as far as possible, under the chapter headings already adopted. This arrangement will enable my readers the more readily to piece together the sum total of the data available concerning any one particular subject, and I hope will mitigate somewhat the defects in presentation for which I have already apologized.

The history of the tribal wanderings of this people follows the same lines as that with which we are now familiar. This history is the record of the migrations, not of the tribe *qua* tribe, but of every clan, the composite of which now forms the group called the Talense (s. Talen; language Talene.) The tribal histories, specimens of which are about to be related, tell of the migrations (within comparatively narrow limits of time and space) of the groups which have for some hundreds of years supplied the Territorial Rulers. Of the wanderings of the original people themselves, who are now largely merged with this foreign element, nothing is really known, except that they were undoubtedly of the stock which I have termed the 'Mole group', who seem to

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Lebzure, Kunwase (You-do-not-stroke-a-snake), son of *Lebkura*. In his time we fired arrows at the people on the Tong hills; there was a famine and we used to rob them. All the people, except Winkoŋo and Sia, rose against us, saying we were too proud. *Kunwase* was succeeded by *Kundizore* (Water-cannot-pull-down-a-hill), a son of *Sapelega*. There was also a war in his time which arose out of a quarrel during a hunting expedition, in which Bade and Yazore had taken part. Small-pox (called *Naba*, the Chief) also broke out in his time. *Kundizore* was succeeded by *Nalebseyo* (It-will-change-to-the-wet-season), son of *Kabu*. He was succeeded by *Pilibazaa* (Cover-them-all), son of *Bupaa*. During his time the Europeans came. *Pilibazaa* was taken by the white men to Gambaga and asked to pay two hundred cows because the Tɔng people had fired arrows at them (the Europeans). He died at Gambaga and was succeeded by *Kunbanbeo* (Cannot-know-to-morrow), a son of *Kundizore*. He was succeeded by *Ŷirisano* (Destroyer-of-compounds), alias *Dentele*, a son of *Lebenwana*. In his time the Europeans came and asked the Hill-people (Teŋ-zugu) to come and see them, but they refused. He was succeeded by myself, *Kpama*, son of *Pilibazaa*. I brought my father's bones from Gambaga, and they were buried outside his compound.'

The above list comprises twenty-eight names, and, with other similar genealogies, supplies us with an approximate estimate of the time when the foreigners from Mampurugu first extended their influence to embrace this area. The names of these Chiefs as here given are their titles only; it is forbidden to mention their real names. Such nicknames are called *sam-wur* in Talene, *saan-yure* in Nankane.

The ruling house at Tongo belongs to the *gwegmere* (lion) clan. When I recorded the above and the other histories which follow I had not as yet grasped the full significance of what I came to discover later, namely, that in recording the history of these migrations as supplied by the Chiefs, I was really only tracing the origins of a minute section of the population, i.e. of those who formed the upper ruling class, and not of their subjects, who formed the mass of the people. In consequence I am unable, in the present instance, to specify the clans to which the majority of the inhabitants of the 'towns', already given, really belong. In my notebooks I find these clans, in nearly every case, recorded as 'the lion clan'. This is only due, however, to my having fallen into the error of failing to distinguish between rulers and ruled, and imagining the histories told me by Chiefs and their following to be applicable also to their subjects. I do not make any apology, however,

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for the inclusion here of such records, as, once their limitations and significance are realized, they, equally with other information recorded, go to form part of the composite picture which I am attempting to draw of the traditions of these people.

History of Siega (as told me by the Chief Zoaga): 'We came from Mampurugu at the same time as *Misore* (see previous history). The Winkonjo people are related to us (he refers, I believe, to the Chief of that place). My clan is lion; I am the seventeenth Chief of Siega. The Chieftainship is under (the patronage of) Kurugu and can descend to any one of the lion clan. My first-born also taboos a fowl. We have had a Chief, distinct from *Ten'dan'*, since ancient times. The first Chief of Siega was *Kukye*.'

History of Datoko (as told me by the present Chief, Borezina): 'We came from Mampurugu, but not with *Misore*. We travelled by way of Nuŋ (Nungo); from Nuŋ to Tula; from Tula to Kumbule; from Kumbule to Datoko. We met the Kusase people in the land, but drove them across the river (Volta). We marry the Kusase. We are of the lion clan. Chiefs of Datoko are appointed by Kurugu. The man who gives most presents becomes the new Chief, and on obtaining the Chieftainship will try to recover what he has paid. Now Chiefs are made by Government, but still go to Kurugu to receive the *muŋ'* (red fez). I am the son of the late Chief, and am ninth of my line. Datoko has six sections (*Ti-zug'*); each section, since Europeans came, is in charge of a *kambon-nab* (head gunman). Since ancient times we have had *Ten'dan'*. Their work and the Chiefs' work are separate. I settle all cases. The *Ten'dan'* performs the ceremonies when the rain does not fall, unless it is at my own *tengzaa* (Nankane, *tingane*), when I perform the sacrifices.' (Here, it will be noticed, the *kambon-nab*, appointed by the Chief (who, when a vacancy occurs, bids with the other applicants for the post), are ousting the old time section-heads, called in Talene, *yi-zug-kpaam*, who have been forced into the background. The *Ten'dan'* (Nankane, *Ten'dana*) has also become more or less a nonentity.)

History of Ten'zugu (as told me by Ten'goli): 'My ancestor came from Nasia; he was called *Sumri* and was a son of the Chief of Mampurugu. When his father d[illegible] he wished to succeed him, but was driven away and came to Bulbi. His enemies followed him there, and again he fled and came to Daa, at the foot of the Tong hills. Later he went on top of the hill and settled there. He found some people called Dagali. They were Talense. We married with them. The Dagali people

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173 622 B04 buried in it. Our first Chief was *Nopeog*. The present Chief is the thirteenth of his line. There are no *Ten'dan'* at Biun[1]; the Chief performs sacrifices. We no longer circumcise. Our Chiefs get the red fez from Kurugu. We no longer speak Dagwanert' (Dagomba).

173 565 The history of the ruling class of almost every Talense town follows these lines. This upper class were scions of the Kings of Mampruse, from which place, according to themselves, the black race, i.e. the upper classes of Moshi, Dagomba, and Mampruse—and, just possibly, Ashanti—sprang.

178 The *Ten'dan'*, among the Talense, have for the most part fallen upon evil days. One old grey-beard, whom I came to know well enough for him to feel he could express his thoughts to me without fear or evasion, said, 'We were once the owners of this land; since the scorpion Europeans came we have entered into holes. You have burned our bows and arrows; we once were keepers of the moons' (referring to the fact that the *Ten'dan'* knew the time for certain annual festivals and kept the calendars.

618 ●128 *Clans*: The word for clan—a patrilineal and exogamous division—is *burt*, pl. *bura*. As already stated above, I omitted to make exhaustive enquiries as to the clans to which the majority of the common people in each *tey* (settlement) belonged, merely recording in my notebook at the time what I had been told by the various Chiefs or their satellites, with the result that, in almost every case, I have written 'lion clan' opposite the names of the various Talense settlements. In the light of subsequent experience, I now am positive that this statement requires considerable qualification. What I recorded was really only the clan of the particular kindred-group who supplied the ruler. Had I made more extensive enquiries it would, I am certain, have been found that in each *tey* (town, Nankanse *teya*) there was a predominant, if not a single, group belonging to one or another of the clans with whose names we have now become acquainted in dealing with the Nankanse, in addition to the lion clan of the Territorial Ruler. I have, in fact, a note to the effect that the majority of the people of *Tɔnzu* appear to be of the *Ye-ba* (leopard clan), and that certain of my informants state they belong to the *Sakur* (tortoise), *Mey* (water-turtle), *Sako* (a wild cat?), *Nwan* (monkey) and *Waf'* (python), clans.

173 784 'I rise (after death) a *sako*', said one informant, "that is my *burt* (clan), but I also taboo *sakur* and *mey*. My ancestor *Tamperypeleg* (white-

[1] This, I was later informed, was not the case, but my informants did not wish the correct facts to be known.

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FOREWORD

I

THE writing of this book has been a harder task than I anticipated when I began it in 1938. It has taught me that the hardest part of an anthropologist's work begins after he leaves the field. In the field he is engrossed in concrete human activities. It is true that he can never feel himself completely at one with the people he is studying, however gifted he may be, linguistically or psychologically. He may make some real friends among his hosts; but he can never adopt their cultural values. If he did, he would lose that detachment without which anything he wrote would be of no scientific value. All the same, he is carried by the living stream of social life. He hardly has to stop and think. Thus the crucial scientific task begins when he starts to write up his field material. It is not merely a question of putting his observations on record. Writing an anthropological monograph is itself an instrument of research, and perhaps the most significant instrument of research in the anthropologist's armoury. It involves breaking up the vivid, kaleidoscopic reality of human action, thought, and emotion which lives in the anthropologist's note-books and memory, and creating out of the pieces a coherent representation of a society, in terms of the general principles of organization and motivation that regulate behaviour in it. It is a task that cannot be done without the help of theory.

The task would be easier if social anthropology had a well-founded body of principles to which every new observation in the field could be related. This is not so; and though we all build on the shoulders of our predecessors, working out our problems with their hypotheses and findings implicitly or explicitly in mind, yet every new piece of field-work is unique in some respects, and every new monograph raises unique problems of analysis and exposition. There is inevitably, therefore, a large personal element in an anthropological monograph.

One of my difficulties lay in the complexity of the material I have tried to present. It is commonly accepted that primitive societies are much simpler than ours, both in their cultural make-up and in their social and economic structure. But even a very simple cultural heritage or social organization may be composed of a large number of strands and elements whose interrelations make up a very elaborate pattern. Simplicity in this context is much more a value concept than a scientific category. In social science it is partly a question of how closely and with what discipline one examines the data. I should have found it much easier to write this book at the end of my first tour among the Tallensi, but it would have been inaccurate in some points and defective in many. I did not know enough about the External *Boyar* cult of the Hill Talis, for example, at the end of my first tour, to understand its significance in the social structure. Indeed, this and many other matters only became clear to me in the course of writing this book.

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000 There were extraneous difficulties too. In 1938, to quote Lord Hailey,[1] there was 'no systematic demand for research workers' in anthropology in Great Britain. Then came the war, bringing with it issues of far greater moment than the study of the social structure of a remote and unimportant African people.

128 The requirements of war-time publication have made it necessary to 114 publish separately the two parts of which this study of Tale social structure consists. Though each part is self-contained, I had hoped that they could appear together in one volume. A considerable amount of compression has been necessary in order to fit the book to the Procrustean bed of austerity printing. As my concern in this book is with Tale social structure, I have preferred to leave the descriptive data pertaining to my central theme fairly full, and to compress material that can be more fully dealt with in later studies. This applies particularly to what I have written about Tale religion. It is sometimes said that anthropological monographs tend to be too long. Unfortunately, in descriptive work of this kind brevity is not always reconcilable with accuracy, however attractive it may be from the literary angle. As it is, anthropologists have to exercise rigorous selection in presenting the small fraction of their field material that it is physically possible to publish. One of the objects of any descriptive monograph must be to record material that can be used for comparative and theoretical studies. Excessive brevity (which easily lapses into facile generalization) has often proved a more serious defect, from this point of view, than an inelegant multiplicity of detail. Failing statistical devices, there is no alternative for the anthropologist who wishes to support his general statements with the evidence of observed fact, but adequate descriptive detail. I fear that I have not obeyed this rule as strictly as I should have liked to, owing to lack of space.

121 My object, however, has been a limited one. I have not attempted to give an 'outline' of 'the whole culture'. I consider that a work of that kind is best done in the traditional ethnographic manner of such classics as Junod's *Life of a South African Tribe* or Smith and Dale's *Ila Speaking Peoples*. It is a different thing to study those attributes of a social system that pertain to it *as a whole*, by contrast with those attributes that pertain to a limited sector of the society or a single institutional complex. Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic of the Azande* are examples of the latter type of study. But all studies in social structure or political organization or economic structure, being concerned with the factors of social integration, are necessarily concerned with attributes of the whole society. It is chiefly because these categories of social relations are the constant elements in all social activities and constitute the common medium through which social activities are articulated with one another that we can speak of a society as a unit, or of its different aspects as being functionally interrelated or mutually consistent. What I have tried to do in this book is to give a descriptive analysis of Tale social structure at the level of corporate

[1] Lord Hailey, 'The Role of Anthropology in Colonial Development', *Man*, xliv, 1944, No. 5; cf. also A. I. Richards, 'Practical Anthropology in the Lifetime of the International African Institute', *Africa*, xiv. 6, 1944.

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group organization. This is the framework of the political system of the Tallensi, which I have described briefly elsewhere[1] and hope to write about more fully later; and it is in its turn built up on the system of interpersonal social relations which I have called kinship in the narrow sense and describe in the second part of this study.[2]

As I am analysing Tale social structure in this book I treat Tale culture primarily as the content of social relations and not in its own right. I discuss customs, beliefs, conventional usages, religious values, and so forth, principally as indices of social relations. That is why I have not been able to make use of the concepts and methods of the students of culture history and of the psychology of culture. The recent work of Benedict, Mead, Bateson, Linton, and others in the United States promises to revolutionize the study of the psychology of culture; but as Bateson argues,[3] with admirable cogency, both the approach and the aims of that study differ from those of the study of social structure.

Except for one or two topics where they seemed apposite, I have made no use of comparative data, because my aim is entirely different from that of a comparative study. Actually, there is extremely little in the literature on the Voltaic region, apart from Rattray's and Labouret's works,[4] that is relevant, and the mere citation of information from other parts of West Africa would have no value in an analytical study. Africanists will see, however, that many features of Tale social organization are typical of patrilineal societies in West Africa and some Tale institutions have parallels in South, East, and Central Africa.

I have also kept general theoretical discussions out of this book as far as possible. It was Poincaré, I believe, who remarked that whereas physical scientists have a subject-matter, sociologists, for lack of a subject-matter, spend most of their time discussing methodology. I have tried to stick to my subject-matter, using whatever theoretical guidance I could find to make it clear and to interpret it to the best of my knowledge of the Tallensi.

Observation in the field showed that every significant social activity among the Tallensi is tied up with the lineage system. I set out, therefore, to investigate the function of the lineage in Tale social organization, and the result is this book. I consider that it should be the first task of every field-worker to give an account of the social structure of the people he has studied. On this foundation he can subsequently build his studies of separate functional systems, such as law or economics or religion, of particular institutional complexes or social mechanisms, or of the culture as a whole. As regards the Tallensi, I have no hesitation in saying that it is impossible fully to understand their economic, jural, or ritual institutions without a grasp of their lineage system.

While avoiding theoretical discussions I have drawn attention to characteristics of Tale society that have a wider theoretical interest. I was impressed, in the field, with the apparent stability of Tale society over

[1] In *African Political Systems*, edited by M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard.
[2] Forthcoming under the title of *The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi*.
[3] Gregory Bateson, *Naven*.
[4] Cit. *infra*.

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work of this kind. I consider it futile to debate this question and can think of no more apposite answer to him than the Chinese philosopher's retort to a similar doubt.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

I have kept vernacular terms and phrases down to a minimum using English equivalents, however approximate, for preference. But I have had to retain a few native words as special terms for lack of satisfactory equivalents. I have used the orthography recommended by the International African Institute, with one exception. I have used the symbol *h* medially and finally to represent a very open velar fricative. This consonant is interchangeable with *s* in Talni. Initially, this consonant is pronounced as in English, and is not interchangeable with *s*. Talni has neither semantic nor grammatical tone.

The Tallensi often drop a final vowel if it is not semantically significant and I have automatically followed this habit. Thus Tallensi, say *Gɔris* or *Gɔrisi*, *tɛndaan* or *tɛndaana*, *Yinduur* or *Yinduuri*, *yir* or *yiri*, *biis* or *biisi*, *na'ab* or *na'aba*, *Tɔŋ* or *Tɔŋo* according to the context.

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December 1944

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of the Tong Hills; yet 'we and the Talis are one' they maintain. In proof of this they point out that their *Tɛŋən-lɛbəgət* Festival belongs to the same cycle as *Da'a* and *Bɔyaraam*, though they have but the vaguest hearsay knowledge of the esoteric ritual of these festivals. Their neighbours at Sie and Datɔk they call Namoos.

Note: For convenience of exposition we shall adopt the following convention in this book. Whenever we speak of all the inhabitants of Taleland, irrespective of their internal subdivisions, we shall use the name given to them by other outsiders and speak of them as *Tallensi*. When we wish to refer to that section of the Tallensi whom they themselves describe as the 'real Talis', we shall refer to them as *Talis*, distinguishing among them, when necessary, between the *Hill Talis*, who live on and around the Tong Hills, and the Talis of the Plain, who live nearer Tongo (i.e. Zubiuŋ, Gbizug, Ba'ari, Yaɣazuor).

Nomenclature and the Structural Scheme

This nomenclature reflects a structural scheme of considerable complexity. It points to institutional allegiances which segregate adjacent social units from each other and group together spatially dispersed units. The major cleavage it reveals is that between the Namoo communities, on the one hand, and the settlements of the real Talis and of those who claim to be akin to them, on the other. But it indicates, also, that there are other lines of division and bonds of union both within each major grouping and cutting across the cleavage. It is a cardinal principle of Tale social structure that every social grouping defined as a unit in one situation, or according to one principle, dissolves into an association of lesser and differentiated units in another situation or according to another principle. Variation in custom or in ideological emphasis is regarded by the natives as one of the most significant indices of group differentiation. It is also, as we shall see, an important factor of social integration.

It is therefore a topic of perennial interest to the natives to observe and comment on variations of usage and doctrine. The idea that identity of custom and belief is desirable or natural is inconceivable. Everybody adheres staunchly to the forms of social behaviour accepted in his own group without desiring to impose them on others. 'Look at the Namoos,' observed Ta'aŋ one day, 'don't they (i.e. different sections of the same clan) do different things at funeral ceremonies? But their use of a goat (in mortuary rites), that is all one. We Talis, again, using our sheep (in mortuary rites)—this is the same for all of us. But as for our ritual, we split up and do different things.' Each one with his father's ways, everyone with his ancestor's ways (*Sɔ ni u ba yɛl, ɛɔ ni u yaab yɛl*)—that is, every group has its distinctive ancestral customs—is a characteristic Tale aphorism. This attitude, emphasizing simultaneously community and differentiation, similarity of pattern, and divergence of detail, permeates Tale thought.

Myths of Origin

Whenever Tallensi discuss the cleavages in their society they trace

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CHAPTER III

PARADIGM OF THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

613 182 TALE society is built up round the lineage system. It is no exaggeration to say that every sociological problem presented by the Tallensi hinges on the lineage system. It is the skeleton of their social structure, the bony framework which shapes their body politic; it guides their economic life and moulds their ritual ideas and values. The social life of the Tallensi cannot be understood without a knowledge of the principles that govern their lineage organization.

128 These principles will be briefly and formally stated in the present chapter. This will give us a paradigm by which to orient our analysis. Something of this sort, though less systematic and abstract, is in the mind's eye of every well-informed native when he discusses the structure of his society or takes his part in public affairs. The schematic analysis given here will be amplified in later chapters and some repetition is therefore unavoidable. In studying a society of this type we cannot avoid traversing the same ground repeatedly from different directions. For the same basic units, relations, and principles of structure lie behind all forms of association and all organized social activities.

A preliminary bird's-eye view of the lineage system is important, also, in another respect. A lineage always functions as a whole. Whenever a lineage emerges in social action it does so as a product of its component parts and of the relations between them; when a part of a lineage emerges in social action it does so relatively to other parts of it and to the whole. Anyone wishing to understand the way a Tale lineage functions must think of it as a field system, in which the behaviour of the part is regulated by its relation to the whole and the behaviour of the whole is a product of the relations of the parts.

613 From the Tale point of view a lineage is an association of people of both sexes comprising all the known descendants by a known genealogy of a single known and named ancestor in an unbroken male line. From the sociologist's point of view it is an association of people of both sexes comprising all the recognized descendants by an accepted genealogy of a single named ancestor in a putatively continuous male line. It is, in other words, a strictly unilineal, agnatic descent group.

Lineages vary in *span* proportionately to the number of generations accepted as having intervened between their living members and the founding ancestor from whom they trace their descent. The lineage of minimum span, which we shall call the minimal lineage, consists of the children of one father. The lineage of maximum span, which we shall call the maximal lineage, is the lineage of widest span to which any of its members belongs. It consists of all the descendants in the male line of the remotest common patrilineal ancestor known to the members of the lineage. Whenever we speak of a lineage without qualification to indicate its span, we use the term in the generalized sense of a lineage of any span

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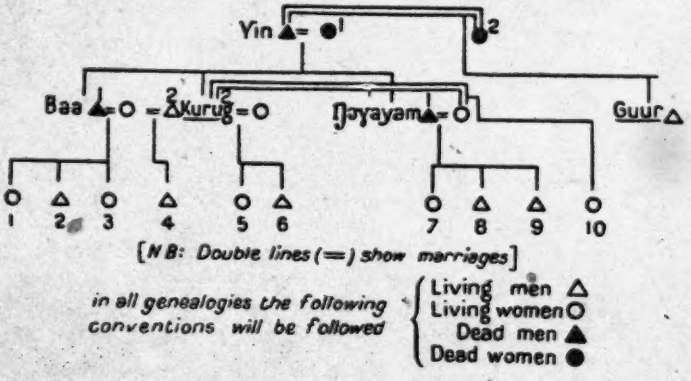
analysis. Yidaan-Yin-Kurug is as convenient a person for this as anybody else. Lean and angular, like most Tale men, with the greying hair of a man past middle age, he occupies homestead No. 6 in Puhug, near the rough track that used to be a Government-made road. He is a man of some substance as wealth goes in Tongo, a section headman[1] (*Kambonaaba*) and one of the lesser elders (*Kpɛmtaɣəlis*). But one would have to know the Tallensi very well to detect his status if one saw him in his usual garb of a loin-cloth stiff and greasy with body dirt, and an equally soiled body-cloth. Kurug is an average man of his age in Taleland, an industrious farmer by native standards, a law-abiding citizen, a loyal member of his section and of the settlement. (Cf. following genealogical chart and map at end of book.)



The unit of interest to us here includes: Kurug, the head (*kpeem*), his younger brother (*pit*) Guur, more strictly described as his *sunzɔ* (half-brother), his own children (*biis*), Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 10; his deceased older full-brother (*bier-soog*) Baa's children, Nos. 1, 2, 3; his deceased younger full-brother (*pit-soog*) Dɔyayam's children, Nos. 7, 8, 9. He describes these children of his dead brothers as his children (*biis*), and they speak of him as their father (*ba*). Except for two of the girls, who are married and therefore away from home, all the other children live under Kurug's roof and authority. His *pit*, Guur, is away too, in Mampurugu, where he went to live a few years ago.

This lineage is typical of what we may call the effective minimal lineage, that is, the lineage of the smallest span which emerges as a corporate unit in economic, jural, and ritual activities and is differentiated from other units of a like sort. It is not, it should be noted, an amorphous, internally undifferentiated unit; differences of generation, age, and maternal origin regulate the relations between its members. What is more important, the

[1] These headmen are an innovation due to the British Administration. They are appointed by chiefs and other heads of clans or locally associated groups of clans to assist them in carrying out the tasks demanded by the Administration. Before 1933 a headman's position gave him many opportunities of enriching himself by extortion.

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631 Rhodesia,[1] or the Ashanti of the Gold Coast.[2] These peoples have a
171 pyramidal social structure corresponding to their pyramidal form of government. From the village to the tribal unit we find a hierarchy of territorial-political units, the greater made up of a collection of the lesser, and culminating in the whole tribal unit. This is associated with a corresponding hierarchy of political offices, from the village headman to the paramount chief at the apex. Among the Tallensi[3] there is no single person or body of persons vested with supreme executive and administrative authority over the whole of Taleland. Government is laterally distributed amongst all the corporate units that make up the society, instead of being vertically distributed as in pyramidal societies. All the corporate units are, broadly speaking, politically equal; all are segments of the same structural order.

621 This is one aspect of what is meant by describing Tale society as segmentary in form. But the concept has further implications. The corporate units that compose Tale society are not a casual agglomerate of discrete bodies, but are socially articulated and interconnected with one another; and they are thus interrelated in a segmentary series. This principle of association between defined social units runs right through the structure of Tale society. It means that small units of a particular form are, like cells, associated together into larger units of the same general form, and these again associated into still larger units of analogous or identical form, and so on up to the limits of the system. This rule holds whether the associations are temporary, for a particular end, or form permanent groupings. Furthermore, the principles according to which the associations occur are either uniform for a whole series of segments of increasing dimension or are so related to one another that principles operating on one level presuppose the principles operating on a lower level.

128 This is an architectural way of looking at the structure of Tale society. It is the line we have largely followed in the preceding chapters, where we have been concerned with the largest corporate units into which the Tallensi are organized. Our attention has been fixed mainly on the permanent edifice in which social relations and activities are congealed rather than on their emergence in process. We have been analysing the product of social segmentation rather than the process itself. To distinguish between product and process is, however, merely an analytic convenience in dealing with social facts. In reality what we denote as a product is a set of regularities and recurrences of process. A corporate unit is really the sum total of corporate relations and activities occurring amongst a defined group of individuals. We can think of a maximal lineage as an architectural segment of a composite clan in the same way as we can picture one storey of a modern building as a lateral segment of the whole. A maximal lineage, however, differs from a part of a building of brick and wood in that it is not always 'there', tactually and visibly.

[1] Cf. Richards, Audrey I., 'The Political System of the Bemba Tribe', in *African Political Systems*, and *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, 1939.

[2] Cf. Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 1929.

[3] A fuller analysis will be found in the 'Introduction' and in my article on 'The Political System of the Tallensi' in *African Political Systems*.

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It emerges when certain social processes and activities are in play; it is potential when they are not in play. Difficult as it is to convey this to a reader, it is something which the observer is constantly aware of. A maximal lineage emerges only in relation to other maximal lineages, and a clan in relation to other clans. When we speak of lineages being segmentarily related to one another and to the composite clan embracing them, we mean that their relations are mutual, symmetrical, and summative. A is related to B in the same way as B is related to A and the sum of their interrelations gives us a set of relations of the same kind but of higher order.

Putting it thus abstractly, however, leaves out a point of the utmost importance. The relations between individuals and between groups in which corporate units like the maximal lineage emerge are social relations. They are subject to jural, moral, and ritual norms; they are the means of achieving human purposes, of getting a livelihood, of marrying and procreating, of expressing emotional attitudes, organizing the intercourse of people, and so forth. A maximal lineage emerges in terms of jurally, morally, and ritually defined ties and cleavages that exist between it and other specified maximal lineages. A segmentary relationship between lineages or any other social units implies the existence of specific ties and cleavages which have the effect of making each unit a determining factor in the emergence of the other units. This is the basis of the concept of a field of social relations which we have used to describe the way in which lineages are differentiated from and articulated with one another.

The concept of a field of social relations has enabled us to see how clanship acts as a factor of social integration. Through the overlapping of the fields of clanship of adjacent maximal lineages chains of clanship ties interlinking a whole group of lineages are established. Thus each lineage can be regarded as the centre of a series of zones of clanship of increasing amplitude and diminishing integration. The clan is the central region of such a system, a wider community like that of the Hill Talis constitutes the next region, and beyond that lie still wider regions of diminishing importance for the members of the lineage that is taken as the starting-point.

We have seen that there are three major sub-regions within the socio-geographic region we have called Taleland, within each of which there is a greater degree of interarticulation of lineages and clans, and therefore closer integration, than there is between them. But the three sub-regions overlap with each other and with adjacent non-Tale regions. They have a particularly important connecting system in the chain of sub-clans of Mosuor biis.

This system of regions or communities constituted primarily by the operation of the ties and cleavages of clanship is the foundation of a scheme of ritual values and relationships which serves to reinforce the clanship organization by means of mystical sanctions and by co-ordinating the interrelations of lineages and clans at a higher level. Among the Tallensi the web of clanship and the web of ritual relationships take the place, as mechanisms of social integration, of a constituted governmental

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CHAPTER II

KINSHIP AND THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

The Connexion between Kinship and the Lineage System

THE method of analysis we have followed in this study has required, for purposes of description, the isolation of the lineage system from the domestic organization of the Tallensi. In the actual life of the natives, however, these two planes of social structure do not emerge in isolation from each other. Like blood and tissue in the animal organism, they constitute interpenetrating media of Tale social life. Membership of a family and membership of a lineage are equally and often concurrently decisive for the conduct of the individual and for the course of his life. Yet the analytical separation of these two planes of social structure is not entirely artificial. It corresponds to the fact that the interests and ends (primarily political, jural, and ritual) subserved by the lineage system differ significantly from those (primarily economic and reproductive) subserved by the family system, both in their bearing on individual conduct and in the values attached to them by the society.

The lineage system is the structural basis of Tale political, jural, and ritual institutions, whereas the domestic organization is the structural basis of person-to-person relations in the sphere of kinship in the narrow sense. One of our main tasks in the present investigation will be to observe how these two categories of interests and ends, and the institutions and practices in which they emerge, are co-ordinated and integrated. For the individual's rights and duties, sentiments and values, manners and moral conduct, his thinking, feeling, and acting, in the context of lineage relationships, on the one hand, and in the context of family relationships on the other, are organically integrated, as are lineage and family in the social structure. This appears most clearly, we shall see, from the way in which segmentation in the domestic family parallels segmentation in the lineage, the two processes being not only simultaneous in time but complementary in function. Fission in the lineage[1] follows the pattern of cellular segmentation in the joint family; and fission in the joint family, as we shall see, follows the lines of cleavage in the effective minimal lineage. The local and the functional groupings of families are regulated by the agnatic distance of the family heads from one another. In the study of Tale kinship usages and values we are confronted, at every step, by the interaction of domestic organization and lineage structure.

The Tallensi apply the concepts of kinship to describe and define domestic relations and the person-to-person ties that are derived from them. They use the same concepts in dealing with lineage relations. In

[1] *Cf. Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. iii.

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porate political life. This is one of the chief functions of the *poyasama* (see p. 318) in marriage affairs, for example. However the lineage system separates individuals and corporate groups from one another, or sets them against one another, this underlying network of extra-clan bonds knits them together; and this is a very powerful factor in maintaining the equilibrium of Tale society. In the social structure as a whole it has a complementary function to that of clanship. In the old days it acted as an unseen brake on the tendency of clans to resort to fighting as a means of settling their differences; and if fighting did break out it gave an extra stimulus to any efforts directed towards making peace. For, as likely as not, every man on either side had relatives among the enemy and was swayed by divided loyalties. These bonds probably helped to keep down the number of casualties in inter-clan fighting. For it is a sin to slay a kinsman in war. 'If you saw a kinsman on the other side', said Tiezien, 'you shouted to him to get away lest your arrows hit him by mistake; or else, you yourself moved away to another place.' One could not shoot off one's arrows at random but had to pick out an enemy, making certain that he was not a kinsman.

These extra-clan kinship ties are not indiscriminately distributed. They fall into an order in accordance with the field principle which our investigation of clanship brought to light.[1] That is why they reinforce the forces of social integration in the society at large rather than the forces that encourage clan isolation. Though every member of a clan has his own particular bonds of extra-clan kinship, the tendency is for most members to have extra-clan kinship ties with the same clans. Thus members of one clan tend to have a common field of extra-clan kinship ties; and as the lineage principle encourages the attachment to a whole lineage or clan of sentiments and interests directed towards one of its members, the result is that members of one clan all tend to have personal sentiments of amity and loyalty for the same neighbouring clans. In accordance with the field principle this means that members of any particular clan will have more and closer extra-clan kinship ties with adjacent clans than with more distant clans, and with clans linked to theirs by special ties rather than with clans with which theirs has no political or ritual ties.

This appears quite plainly if a distribution map is made for a sample of the wives of men of a clan, showing the natal clans of these women. Since it is through marriages that extra-clan kinship ties are woven into the lineage fabric, such a map shows the distribution of the most important ties of matrilateral kinship for a particular clan, the ties they have with their mothers' brothers.

We reproduce here a diagram (Fig. 7) constructed for a sample of wives of Tongo men. Similar diagrams for a sample of Kpata'ar wives

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vi.

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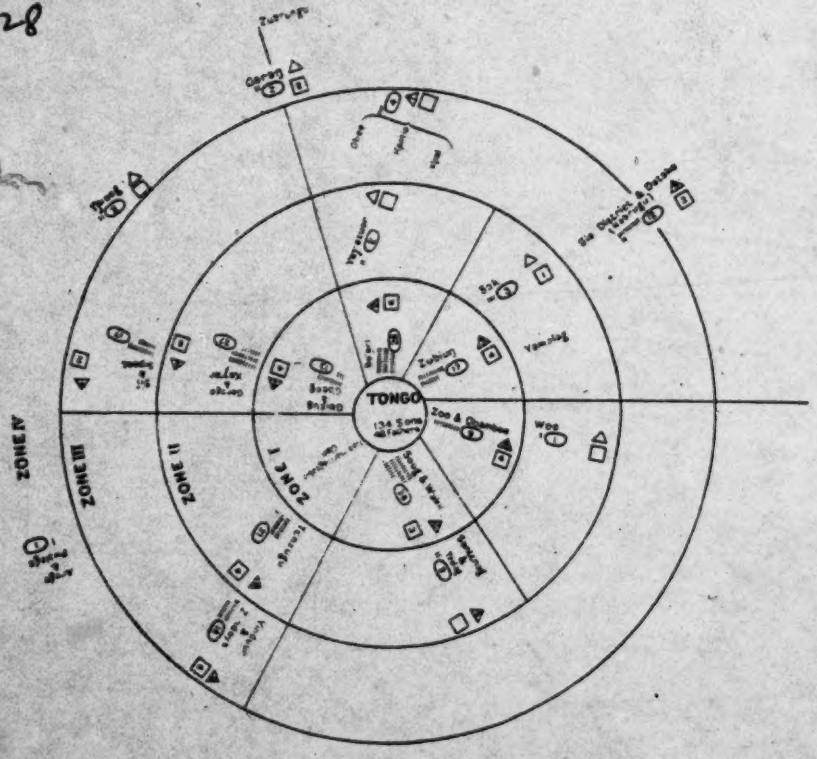

FIG. 7. Distribution of matrilateral kinship ties of Tongo men.

The diagram shows the geographical distribution of wives and mothers of a sample of Tongo men and hence their field of matrilateral kinship.

Wives of men shown thus (26).

Mothers of men shown thus △11.

Mothers of men's fathers shown thus 3.

The diagram divides the socio-spatial field of matrilateral kinship into four zones: Zone I, immediately adjacent clans; Zone II, clans immediately adjacent to clans of Zone I; Zone III, clans beyond Zone II clans; Zone IV, non-Tale clans.

The location of clans or groups of clans on the diagram corresponds to their territorial relations to one another; but the zones are socio-spatial not territorial regions. Most clans of Zone I are within 2 miles of Tongo; most clans in Zone II are between 2 and 5 miles of Tongo; most clans of Zone III between 4 and 7 miles of Tongo. But some clans in Zone III are spatially nearer to Tongo than some clans in Zone II, and vice versa, and one or two non-Tale clans are spatially nearer than some clans in Zone III. Though there is a high positive correlation between social distance and territorial distance, the correspondence is not perfect. The emphasis of the diagram is on the social distance from Tongo of the clans included.

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and a sample of Sie wives have exactly the same form and show that the same principles operate throughout Taleland.[1]

A sample of 134 men from all four sections of Tongo, who were living at Tongo at the beginning of 1934, was chosen for this test. The distribution according to their natal clans of all their wives—living, dead, or separated—who had borne children to them was marked on a map. The distribution by clan of origin of the mothers of these men was plotted on the same map. As a number of the men were brothers and some were polygynous the total number of mothers recorded is smaller than the number of wives. Lastly, the distribution by clan of origin of these men's fathers' mothers was plotted on the same map; and as their fathers were fewer than they are and some were polygynous, the total number of their paternal grandmothers recorded is less than the number of their mothers and much less than the number of their wives. The diagram therefore shows the socio-geographic distribution of (*a*) these men's fathers' mothers' brothers' (*ba ahəbnam*) clans; (*b*) of their own mothers' brothers' (*ahəbnam*) clans; (*c*) of their children's mothers' brothers clans.

Table showing the Field of Extra-clan Kinship Ties

Total number of men, all sections of Tongo	134
Total number of their wives	205
Total number of their mothers	64
Total number of their father's mothers	46

Zonal Distribution of Kinship Ties

	Incidence		
	Mothers' brothers of		
Zone	*Men's children*	*Men themselves*	*Men's fathers*
Zone I	93	33	21
Zone II	56	12	13
Zone III	47	18	9
Zone IV	9 (56)	1 (19)	3 (12)
	205	64	46

It will be seen that the total field of extra-clan kinship ties for Tongo is directly complementary to the total field of clanship ties, and largely congruent with the field of politico-ritual ties we have previously established for this clan.[2] Within this field there are four zones of density graded in accordance with spatial and social distance from Tongo. Thus

[1] They also operate among the Gorisi, as a sample of marriages collected in one of the sections of Bolaga showed.

[2] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. iv and v.

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Tongo people, individually, have closer and more numerous kinship ties with the immediately adjacent clans of Zubiuŋ, Ba'ari, Wakii, and Zoo than with clans in the next zone, such as the Tenzugu clans. On the other hand the incidence of such relationships with Yinduuri is markedly greater than with any other clans of Zone III, because Tongo and Yinduuri have a bond of friendship through the chiefship of Sii, as has been explained in our previous book.[1]

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It will be seen, moreover, that the field of extra-clan kinship is relatively constant for a particular clan through several generations. For its form is approximately the same for children, fathers, and grandfathers. This suggests a regular tendency in the social structure rather than a chance result of the random choices of individuals. As we have previously stated, men seek for wives preferably amongst the nearest eligible women—that is amongst the women of clans that are spatially or socially nearest to their clan. The whole weight of the social structure lies behind this tendency. The restrictions on mobility in the past encouraged it. But the most important factor was, and is, the circular relationship that exists between marriage and extra-clan kinship ties. Marriages create extra-clan kinship ties; social contacts between members of different clans are largely canalized by extra-clan kinship ties; and these ties lead to contacts that in turn bring about new marriages. The modifications that are coming into this sequence nowadays are proof of this argument. The freedom of movement now possible has led to a great expansion of the social space of the younger men. They are beginning to take wives from distant parts, very often outside Taleland, in increasing numbers.

As every Tale clan has a similar field of extra-clan kinship ties, the fields of adjacent clans overlap. The bonds of extra-clan kinship between any two adjacent clans are not only reciprocal but bilateral. Just as many Tongo people, for example, have mothers' brothers at Ba'ari, Zubiuŋ, and Wakii, so many Wakii, Ba'ari, and Zubiuŋ people have mothers' brothers at Tongo. Loyani of Zubiuŋ Yakɔra provides a good instance of multiple bilateral ties between men of adjacent clans. His mother was a woman of one segment of Tɔŋ-Puhug; one of his sisters married into another segment of Puhug; one of his daughters married a member of yet a third segment of Puhug. If we multiply such cases by the total population of Taleland we can get some impression of the intricacy of the web of extra-clan kinship ties. I have never yet been in a situation where a group of natives have gathered for some activity, whether secular or ceremonial, in which it was impossible for any person present to establish some genealogical (or, if it came to the worst, affinal) link with the lineage principally concerned. Merely being sisters' sons—actual or classificatory—of the same clan can become an effective bond of amity in certain circumstances. The following is a trivial illustration of this.

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 89 and 121.

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former is primarily a problem of genetic psychology, the latter of cultural and sociological analysis. In studying education in a particular society we ought, ideally, to be able to take its cultural idiom for granted, whereas the first task of sociological analysis is to discover the cultural idiom. Thus, in Taleland one often finds a pair of small boys disputing with childish earnestness as to who is senior. Unless one has observed the scope of the principle of seniority in the social structure one is liable to dismiss this as mere childish play of no importance.

Education, from this point of view,[1] is an active process of learning and teaching by which individuals gradually acquire the full outfit of culturally defined and adapted behaviour. In this paper I shall try to delineate briefly how it occurs in one African society, that of the Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. As it will be impossible to compass the whole process of social maturation within the limits of this paper, some of the more conspicuous changes and activities only will be examined.

The sampling problem. My observations were made in the course of a field study of the Tallensi the object of which, in accordance with the usual ethnographical method, was the entire society and its culture. It is impossible in such a case—as other anthropologists have found—to follow up a special psychological problem in a manner commensurate with the criteria of experimental research in England. That will only be achieved when specialists can be induced to take over these investigations.

Such material as I am able to present consequently suffers most from sampling deficiencies. Social behaviour among primitive people appears to be more standardized than among ourselves. Yet variations occur, distributed perhaps in accordance with the normal curve of error as among ourselves but perhaps not. The problem has still to be investigated. Ethnographers are principally interested in

[1] An excursus into genetic psychology would be out of place in this paper, but the reader will observe how much it owes, *inter alia*, to F. C. Bartlett, *Remembering*; K. Koffka, *Growth of the Mind*; S. Isaacs, *Intellectual Growth of Young Children*; *Social Development of Young Children*; C. E. Spearman, *Nature of Intelligence*; and to the writings of Jean Piaget (*Language and Thought of the Young Child*, &c.). I have borrowed also from the anthropological writings already cited and from those of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, particularly from their writings on kinship.

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128 'patterns of behaviour', hence they neglect or slur over variations, and sometimes indeed build whole theories on a single occurrence. For most problems of social anthropology variations are of minor importance as compared with the 'typical', and an all-round knowledge of a culture is a sufficient check of typicality. For problems of developmental psychology variations may be of the utmost
158 importance. For example, the first case of thumb-sucking I observed was that of a girl infant 3–4 years old whose mother had recently died. Could it be assumed that this was a clear-cut instance of the thumb being substituted for the nipple? Some time later I came across another little girl, about the same age, thumb-sucking, but her mother was alive and she was not yet fully weaned. Further observation brought a few more cases of this habit to light, but it is so infrequent among Tale children that a single year's observation does not yield sufficient instances to suggest any correlation.

Generally speaking, therefore, small samples form the basis of the observations recorded in this paper. Where norms of development are implied it will be understood that an appreciable, though indeterminable, variability exists.

III. Social Sphere of the Tale Child

184 The process of education among the Tallensi, as among a great
155 many other African peoples of analogous culture, is intelligible when it is recognized that the social sphere of adult and child[1] is unitary and undivided. In our own society the child's feeling and thinking and acting takes place largely in relation to a reality—to aims, responsibilities, compulsions, material objects and persons, and so forth—which differs completely from that of the adult, though sometimes overlapping it. This dichotomy is not only expressed in our customs, it comes out also in the psychological reactions which mark the indivi-

[1] I am aware that the unqualified manner in which this proposition is formulated here invites the immediate objection that it cannot possibly hold for the new-born infant, or even for the child who is inarticulate and does not yet walk or crawl. I would suggest in answer that it is impossible empirically to observe the point at which the child's affective orientation to its cultural environment first receives its bias; and also, that recent psychology and anthropology would support me in attaching basic importance to the earliest infantile responses of a child as determinants of later interests.

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82 9 or 10 the children are thoroughly familiar with the ecological environ-
861 ment of their clan settlements. They know the economically important trees, grasses, and herbs, e.g., a girl of about 9 once named and showed me nine varieties of herbs used for making soup. They have a fair idea of the gross anatomy of the fowl, small field animals, and larger live stock. But apart from these achievements which lead one to infer the existence of an interest in the natural environment, I was able to obtain some direct evidence thereof. The natives say that small children frequently ask questions about people and things they see around them. However, listening to children's talk for 'why' questions,[1] I was surprised to note how rarely they occurred; and the few instances I recorded refer to objects or persons foreign to the normal routine of Tale life. It would seem that Tale children rarely have to ask 'why' in regard to the people and things of their normal environment because so much of their learning occurs in real situations where explanation is generally coupled with instruction, and because they hear so much adult discussion, in terms of cause and effect, as these are understood by the Tallensi, of the things they are interested in. Yet two examples will prove that even quite small children react with exploratory interest to what is new and unusual. I gave some tiny tin figures of animals to a group of small children to play with. A little boy of about 5 looked intently at the figure of a horse. 'Why does he stoop like that?' he asked, speaking to himself rather than to his companions. But immediately he answered his own question, 'He is eating grass.' On another occasion I observed the 3-year-old son of our cook, pointing to the garbage tin, ask the horseboy: 'Why has that got a lid?'

857 Again, making clay figures is a favourite diversion of small boys
177 and adolescents. The standard figures are men and women, cows and
532 horses. But a youngster of about 9 or 10 once produced a motor-cycle, explaining that he had recently seen the Agricultural Officer arrive on one. Another boy, a little older, once made a roan antelope, explaining that some two years previously he had seen one of these animals which, fleeing from a hunting party, had entered the settlement and been surrounded and killed there.

128 I have not attempted to give an exhaustive account of the interests

[1] See N. Isaacs in *Intellectual Growth of Young Children*.

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which Tale children develop in the course of their education. I have tried to indicate only some typical interests and their relation to the educational process.

Skills. The acquisition of skills also commences in early infancy, with the child's first experiments in motor co-ordination and speech. Bodily dexterity provides merely the foundation upon which are subsequently built up the socially important skills of adult life. They include not only the predominantly manual skills, such as are connected with farming and care of live stock, with hunting, fishing, building, thatching, cooking, housekeeping and gardening, and the technology of specialists, but also non-manual skills, such as a knowledge of the kinship system, of ritual and ceremonial, of economically useful herbs and roots and of others used as drugs to cure illness, of buying and selling, of law and custom—in short, of the whole body of cultural definitions which guide the Talənə in his daily existence. Such skills are the end-results of education; and it will be obvious that they represent merely the cognitive and motor aspects of activities rooted in developing interests and fostered by the expectation of normal behaviour. Typical skills will be referred to as we proceed, but one general feature must be noted here. Children in Taleland are remarkably free from over-solicitious supervision. They have the maximum freedom and responsibility commensurate with their skill and maturity. On the one hand they can go where they like and do what they like, on the other they are held fully responsible for tasks entrusted to them. Thus, a 6-year-old is quite often charged with the care of an infant for several hours at a stretch. Girls of 9 or 10 can be seen in large numbers in every market, selling or buying things for their mothers or themselves. Boys of this age and even younger swarm in the markets. One market day I discovered a boy of about 10–11 selling a basketful of leaves used as a food for animals which he had himself collected in the bush near his settlement. He hoped to earn a penny or twopence to buy arrow-heads for himself. Another day a boy of about the same age offered his services to the butcher. He earned a tenth of a penny which he spent on a feed of locust-bean flour for himself and a friend. Similarly, when there is dancing at a homestead, the children of about 6 years and upwards from the whole neighbourhood congregate there and remain till

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used always to milk the cow during the day, in the pasture, when he became hungry; but if he was not going to be allowed to do this because the white man must be supplied with milk, he would no longer drive the cow out to graze.

Increasing skill and maturity, therefore, bring increasing responsibilities but also concomitant rewards—that is, ever closer integration into the system of co-operation and reciprocity which is the basis of Tale domestic economy.[1] The unity of the social sphere, the interest of children in the world of adult activities, and the rapidity with which each advance in educational achievement is socially utilized constitute a ring of incentives which help to explain the eagerness of Tale children to grow up and take their full place in adult life.

Observances. Finally, there are the observances which every Talənɑ has to learn in the course of his or her life. These comprise ritual, moral and ethical values, norms and obligations, as well as rules of etiquette and standards of correct conduct in general. Some of these types of observances can be readily identified in Tale culture. It is not so easy to determine what exactly are moral and ethical norms and obligations and their place in this culture. Certainly an exhaustive study of this, the most recondite and perhaps fundamental aspect of Tale education, could not be ventured without first precisely establishing the nature of these observances and how they are *maintained*. For the limited purpose of this paper it will be sufficient to select some representative examples of rules of conduct the violation or neglect of which is repugnant to the cultural idiom of the Tallensi or, otherwise expressed, would be considered blameworthy or disgraceful, sinful or wicked, uncouth or embarrassing to others. To ask how they are learnt is to ask how they are experienced by the growing child at different stages of its development.

To the native these norms have an arbitrary quality as if they require no validation, other than the fact that normal and equable social relations would be impossible without them, that they are indispensable for satisfactory social adjustment.[2] In Taleland, it is true, learn-

[1] See M. and S. L. Fortes, 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi', loc. cit., for a more detailed description of this.

[2] The argument of this section owes much to the stimulus of Durkheim's *L'Éducation morale*.

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[828] Tallensi. The play of Tale children, it has been pointed out, emerges partly as a side-issue of their practical activities. It is also an end in itself, and has a noteworthy role in their social development. In his play the child rehearses his interests, skills, and obligations, and makes experiments in social living without having to pay the penalty for mistakes. Hence there is always a phase of play in the evolution of any schema preceding its full emergence into practical life. Play, therefore, is often mimetic in content, and expresses the child's identifications. But the Tale child's play mimesis is never simple and mechanical reproduction; it is always imaginative construction based on the themes of adult life and of the life of slightly older children. He or she adapts natural objects and other materials, often with great ingenuity, which never occur in the adult activities copied, and rearranges adult functions to fit the specific logical and affective configuration of play.[1]

A typical play situation. How vividly these motifs appear in the play of Tale children will be evident to the reader if I describe shortly an actual play situation as I observed and recorded it. I shall describe a typical play episode among children at the transition from infantile egocentricity and dependence to social play and participation in peripheral economic activities. It will be noted how recreational and imaginative play are interwoven with practical activities and how infantile habits still persist. The children's interests fluctuate from moment to moment, egocentric attitudes alternate with co-operative play, and the economic task receives only sporadic attention. Later on we shall consider these factors in relation to the phases of development of children's play.

On a morning in June I found Gəmna, aged about 7, his half-sister Zəŋ, aged about 6, and his friend Zoo of about the same age out

[1] In this respect Tale children resemble our own children; cf. S. Isaacs, *Intellectual Growth in Young Children*, pp. 99–102. She sums up: 'Imaginative play builds a bridge by which the child can pass from the symbolic values of things to active inquiry into their real construction and real way of working. . . . In his imaginative play the child recreates selectively those elements in past situations which can embody his emotional and intellectual need of the present, and he adapts the details moment by moment to the present situation. . . .' Cf. also the same author's *Social Development in Young Children*, p. 425, 'Play . . . is supremely the activity which brings him [the child] psychic equilibrium in the early years.'

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INTRODUCTION

This bulletin records the work of the Department of Agriculture in North Mamprusi during the years 1932 to 1936. It is divided into two parts: the first contains a description of the indigenous system of agriculture and the survey methods followed in studying it; and the second gives the results of preliminary trials, as an introduction to future experimental work. 128

North Mamprusi comprises three political sub-districts, Navrongo Area, Zuarungu Area, and Kusasi (Bawku) Area. These areas have a number of features in common, the most important from our point of view, being a dense population, and a primitive system of "fixed" agriculture. The most densely populated area is Zuarungu, where a shortage of cultivated foods is a fairly common experience. It was mainly to find the causes of this food shortage and to suggest ameliorative measures that the Department of Agriculture commenced preliminary survey work in this area in 1932. Unfortunately, owing to shortage of staff, the work had to be suspended in 1933, with a consequent loss of continuity. It was recommenced in 1934, however, and the scope was enlarged to admit of a certain amount of experimental work at Zuarungu and Navrongo, and survey work in the Navrongo Area. Some of the survey work was also repeated in Zuarungu Area to supply confirmatory information upon 1932 data, particularly yield data, since it was known that 1932 was an exceptionally favourable season. In 1935 the experimental side of the work received more attention; similarly in 1936. And in 1936 survey work was extended to Zebilla, in Kusasi Area. Zuarungu has been the headquarters throughout. 634 121

We have now obtained a fairly detailed knowledge of local agriculture and a certain amount of experimental evidence upon the best way in which it can be improved. All our experience points to some form of "mixed farming" (1) as a solution of the problem. Mr. F. A. Stockdale, C.M.G., C.B.E. (now Sir Frank Stockdale), Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State, visited Zuarungu and Navrongo in December, 1935, and recommended (2) the expansion of our work to enable us to investigate more 121

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121 fully a system of mixed farming suitable for the peculiar conditions obtaining locally. In 1936, the writer visited Northern Nigeria to study the progress made in mixed farming there. A report upon this visit has been published as Bulletin No. 33 of the Department (3).

It is realized that Nigerian experience can serve only as a guide to us here, for whilst environmental conditions are similar, economic conditions differ considerably. The object of this bulletin is to record the results of observations, surveys, and experimental work, as an introduction to the study of mixed farming locally. The survey methods followed have been recorded in the hope that they may be of value when similar work is contemplated in other districts.

Our method of approach to the improvement of local agriculture is by surveys and observations, followed by experiment, demonstration, and extension, in that order. So far, in North Mamprusi, we have reached the stage of experiment and quiet demonstration.

Part I.—STUDY OF INDIGENOUS AGRICULTURE.

Section I.—Introductory Notes upon the District.

• 128 The farming methods of the primitive tribes inhabiting North Mamprusi are practically unique in the Gold Coast. Before discussing the results of surveys and experimental work it is proposed to outline in this section some of the main features of the district which have a bearing upon local agriculture and which are likely to affect its future development. It is necessary to state that most remarks are based upon experience gained in the Zuarungu and Navrongo Areas; although most of what is said will apply to Kusasi Area, it is probable that greater experience will reveal some differences.

Situation.

131 North Mamprusi is situated in the extreme North East corner of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast; it lies roughly between 10° 30′ and 11° North latitude and 0° and 1° 30′ West longitude and covers an area of 3,559 square miles. It is bounded on the South by South Mamprusi (Gambaga District), on the West by Lawra-Tumu District, and on the North and East by French West Africa.

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sweet potatoes and Coleus potatoes as fresh tubers. Harvesting and weighing had to be left to the junior staff, but visits were paid as often as possible to each centre of record during the harvest season and check weights were taken. It is essential that the staff fully understand what is required of them before the rush of harvest comes on. Any doubtful yields must not be recorded. Nearly half the records in 1932 had to be discarded because a "literate helper" thought it better to put down fictitious yields than to report mistakes. At first some farmers thought we intended to confiscate the produce from the sample plots; but they all readily co-operated with us when disillusioned.

Results of Survey.

Distribution of Recorded Compounds.

The farms of 54 compounds have been surveyed and it is upon the data from these that the following statistics are based. The variation from one compound to another, in almost every detail recorded, makes it necessary to emphasise that, whilst the figures are reasonably accurate in themselves, they are based upon a very small proportion of the population, and the means are reliable as district means, only as our compounds are typical of the centres from which they have been selected. The compounds were distributed at the ten centres of record as follows :—

Zuarungu Area.	Bongo	6
	Nangodi	5
	Sambruno ...	5
	Tongo	5
	Zuarungu ...	8
Navrongo Area.	Chana	6
	Kologo	6
	Navrongo ...	2
	Wiaga	6
Kusasi Area.	Zebilla	5
	Total	54

In discussing the results of the survey work it is proposed to reduce figures in the text to means and percentages as far as possible; details are given in tables in Appendix II.